THE PLEDGES OF GARFIELD

An Abstract of the Budget of Stephen W. Dorsey.

How Garfield Secured the Nomination for President.

The Story of the October Election in Indiana.

The Astounding Promises Made at the Fifth Avenue Conference.

The Secret of the Stalwart Pilgrimage to Mentor.

The Pledge Made to Jay Gould and

Stanley Matthews's Appointment. Roscoe Conkling's Suspicions Re-

Blaine's Efforts to Protect the Star Routers.

garding Garfield's Word.

Garfield Showing Dorsey the Evidence Against Them.

How the Mighty Republican Party Has Fallen.

WASHINGTON, July 5 .- The sequence of some events that had their beginning with the nomination of Garfield, was ended with the verdict in the recent Star route trials. Two of the defendants in these trials were so inti-timately connected with the Republican canvass in 1880, and one of them, at least, so connected because of his relations with the Star route contractors, that the very remarkable history of that canvass has been really in their power to tell. They have both refrained from doing so, because they were under fire, and be-cause they knew that they had the sympathy of many of the leading Republican politicians. Both Brady and Dorsey have over and over again received assurances from these managers of sympathy, not infrequently coupled with the assertion that no case of ingratitude is known that compares with that of the Administration, which was not only willing but anxlous to secure all the aid these two defendants could give during the canvass, and then, having obtained that aid, was willing to turn around and persecute them. Whatever wrong there may have been in the Star route contract system, the Republican managers in 1880 either knew or suspected, and they were then ready to get such advantages therefrom as were possible. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that both Dorsey and Brady feel to-day any. thing but gratitude toward the party they did so much to keep in power, nor can the de-fendants in the recent trials he held as specially unfaithful, if from them some of the very remarkable secrets of that most remarkable canvass are learned. The canvass was involved from the beginning with these two men. Dorsey was the brains of the Republican National Committee. Brady's knowledge of Indiana politics was constantly brought into requisition, and he was begged money from these very Star route contractors for the purposes of the campaign. To both Gen. Garfield and the party managers con-stantly acknowledged their obligation; to both, Gen. Garffeld at least had expressed his opinion that there was nothing unlawful in the Star route business; while to both, other Repub lican managers, such men as Hubbell, Jewell Gen. Arthur, and others had said that the Star route contractors ought to be required to contribute liberally, because they were getting large sums for their work through the favor of the Government. To Brady and Dorsey the subsequent course of the Administration seemed ungrateful. They thought that the such advantages as could be obtained from the Star route contract system, and having done so, and having thereby succeeded in remaining in power, they showed themselves also entirely

When the Congress ordered an investigation into the system of letting the Star route contracts, Gen. Garfield, at Gen. Brady's request, made a very thorough examination into the whole matter. The result was that he assured Gen. Brady and Senator Dorsey that he was satissed the system could be defended, and he promised when the special appropriation for which Gen. Brady asked should come before the House that he would not only vote for it. but would also defend it upon the floor. Realizing Garfield's great influence, not only with the Appropriations Committee, but also on the floor, both Brady and Dorsey were satisfied that the accusations against them would be satisfactorily defended. They had received Garfield's most positive assurance that he would do all in his power to set them right, and they had every reason to believe that he would keep his word. But when the matter came up Garfield not only failed them, but he also allowed his influence to dwindle to insignificance by pairing with a member of the House and leaving town when the matter came up. Dorsey was inclined to forgive him for this; not Brady. The Second Asssistant Postmaster-General realized that Garfield had discovered that very large sums of money were received by the Star route contractors, and he was in chined to think that Garfield would be disposed to make use of this knowledge at a later day. Therefore, Brady thought, Garfield did not care to go on record, except sufficiently to satisfy the men who had asked him to defend them. All this occurred some montus before the Chicago Convention. It was well known that Brady favored the nomination of Blaine, while Dorsey professed to be earnestly for Grant.

willing to get further party advantage by prose

cuting men for doing the very thing that had before been of such value to the party.

III.

In the winter of 1880 a club of the "better element" was organized in Philadelphia by a young man, with political aspirations, named Wharton Barker. This club, among other great missions, undertook to prevent the nomination of either Gen. Grant or James G. Blaine. Mr. Wayne MacVeagh was a member of the club. He had a profound dislike for Blaine, having characterized him as the most dangerous man in American politics. Mr. Wharton Barker reNEW YORK, MONDAY, JULY 16, 1983.

garded the threatened nomination of Grant as | be thoroughly in earnest. He made a plain a dangerous innovation. The point was to find the man who could beat both of these in to hid the man who could beat both of these in the Chicago Convention. Many names were suggested. Sherman—he would not do, he had no elements of popularity: Edmunds—he would not do, because they would tell about the black bottle he kept in his committee room: Hawley-oh, no: he came from an insignificant State and was something of a blusterer, and so on. At last one evening Mr. Barker suggested the name of James A. Garfield. It was well received by nearly all the members of the club, Then a thin man, with a foxy face and an icy expression, arose. He was Mr. Wayne Macvership of the country of the credit mobilier case in the De Golyer business, and of other case, the De Golyer business, and of Garfield heard of this speech afterward, and Garfield heard of this speech afterward, and Garfield heard of this speech afterward, and Garfield heard of the speech of the Golyer business, and Garfield heard of the speech of the Golyer business of the Country of the Co on. At last one evening Mr. Barker suggested the name of James A. Garfield. It was well received by nearly all the members of the club.

Both Garfield and Dorsey realized very early in the canvass that the Republican candidate for the Presidency was embarrassed by a sulky. jealous, and mutinous faction. The relation that the New York Stalwarts permitted themselves to assume was the subject of much cor-respondence between Garfield and Dorsey. The candidate wrote to Dorsey that he relied upon him to prepare the way for the cordial cooperation of the sulky New York men. He de clared to Dorsey that he regarded him as one of the best of organizers, and know that if he would undertake the work of reconciliation, it could be consummated. Dorsey promised to do it. He frankly told Garfield that i was a work that amounted to nothing less than organizing a movement for victory from elements that, right after Garfield's nomination, ing days in July and early August, it was orsey who gave encouragement to Garfield and it was Dorsey who mapped out a plan o operations that met Garfield's cordial approval and drew from him the most fulsome expres sions of gratitude. While Conkling, Grant, Cameron, Logan, and the Stalwarts everywhere were so frigid as to send a chill throughout the party. Dorsey never permitted himself to lose courage or hope. Garfield's correspondence with Dorsey at this time reveals a state of

party. Dorsey never permitted himself to lose courage or hope. Garfield's correspondence with Dorsey at this time reveals a state of mind bordering on despair, and this embarrassed Dorsey not a little. Garfield bewailed the indifference of the Grant faction; Dorsey told him that it would pass away. Garfield could not see the way clear for cordial cooperation; Dorsey told him that the way lay with himself. Garfield asked for light to show the way; Dorsey furnished it.

It was Dorsey who conceived and successfully managed the Fifth Avenue Hotel conference, and he himself has said that not even his recent trial as a criminal conspirator against the Government gave him more anxiety, or more necessity for calling upon all his resources, than did the arrangements for that conference. Dorsey had presented to the Republican managers, including Garfield, his views respecting the canvass. To his thinking there were two necessities. One was money; the other the cooperation of the New York Stalwarts. The two were linked. Dorsey said that no money could be raised without the cooperation of the New York Stalwarts. The two were linked, Dorsey said that no money could be raised without the cooperation of the New York stalwarts. The two were linked borsey said the necessity of making the battle in Indiana in October. His correspondence with Garfield will show that, and Garfield's replies to him will also show that the candidate was of the same opinion. Garfield suggested some puerile plans, such as one to interest a certain religious sect in Indiana, and also the educational interests. Dorsey pooh-poohed these, and in plain terms said that the influencing factor in Indiana would be money. In this view Gen. Bradly, who knew Indiana from the lakes to the Ohio, agreed. Garfield did not know how the money was to be raised. Dorsey did, and he told Garfield that he must meet the New York politicians. He told him that the New York politicians were ready to give but that they were business men. and would expect to receive. It must be a

The great Republican party had come to this at last. It had nominated a Credit Mobilier man for President, and its candidate, to win, was obliged to meet with the representatives of a powerful faction, and dicker and bar gain with them for the price of their support. Dorsey had told Garfield that this Fifth Avenue Hotel conference would be "the climax of the canvass." If it was successful, Dorsey promised success in November; if it failed, Dorse; said that they might as well close their commit tee rooms and let the campaign go by default. Time was pressing. It wanted but a few weeks to the great preliminary contest in In-diana. Gassield had been greatly impressed by Dorsey's earnestness, and when he mot the representatives of the great Stalwart faction in the Fifth Avenue parlor, it was noticed that the smiling. hall-fellow-well-met manner was ab-

seemingly perfectly frank statement to the grim politicians in front of him who had his fate in their hands. He acknowledged as much to them. He said, as he had said before to Dorsey, that New York had the right to expect the largest recognition at his hands: that it was his earnest desire so to shape his course that sil differences in the party would be reconciled, and that no one would expect that he would for a moment entertain any idea but that of learning what the wishes of the friends in New York were, and if they were consistent with what was fair, he would give his hearty

that of learning what the wishes of the friends in New York were, and if they were consistent with what was fair, he would give his hearty assent to them.

But generalities were not indulged in very long. Pacts and figures were presented as coldly and as free from hints as a bargain for the sale of a railroad. They told him first that it was expected that he would agree to appoint as Secretary of the Treasury a New York man prominently identified with the part of the party that favored the nomination of Grant. He said that the demand was not only not unreasonable but entirely proper, and when Levi P. Morton was suggested as the man who was desired. Gen. Garfield promised, without further qualification, that, if elected, he would appoint Mr. Morton Secretary of the Treasury. He subsequently added that if Mr. Morton preferred a first-class mission abroad, he should be appointed to that, Now comes the humiliating part of the business. The cool and determined politicians with whom the candidate for the Presidency was dealing kept up the business aspect of this proceeding by making duplicate memoranda of what had been promised. It was a formal document, frigid as a bill of sale. But this was a trific compared with that which followed. This only secured the active support of the Stalwarts. That was nothing without money. Whether Garfield made or received first the proposition that men say was made, it is now asserted by those who know that another memorandum was drawn up. In that it is asserted that the candidate for the Presidency of the Republican party agreed with the cool, remorseless politicians who had him in their power, that the operation of refunding the Government force and sizes, which must soon take place, should be given to such syndicate of New York bankers as should be designated by the Stalwarts, and at such commission as should be fair. Here were millions in prospect. The operation, as has since been shown, was an enormous one, and at an apparently trifling commission would have given the fortunate s

"Hurrah," shouted the excitable Jewell when he met Dorsey aione, "the battle's won." Dorsey, grim, carnest, and full of nerve as ever, did not allow his joy to affect his business. But it really seemed as though the party were now retting ready to fight a battle. There had been some doubt about that before. Within a week after the Fifth avenue conference, Wall street had subscribed a very large amount of money. time began that remarkable, and, at the time, unexplained zeal which the old Stalwart leaders suddenly took in the Republican canvass Grant, Conkling, Don Cameron took hold, and the political temperature sprang from zero te fever heat. These three leaders made

their memorable visit to Garfield at Mentor, and Grant and Conkling took the stump. But while all this firework business was going on, there was one man who had more serious matters to attend to. In constant communication with Garfield, Dorsey began to organize for an per victory in Indians. The eye of the public being distracted by the splurging and hurrah-boys style of campaigning that folowed the Fifth avenue conference. Dorsey had abundant opportunity to put into operation. without being detected, the plan of cam-paigning in Indiana that afterward won the battle, and which brought from Garfield those expressions of thanks and grateful acknowledgnents which Dorsey now has in his possession. Dorsey's plan involved the most thorough canvass of the State of Indiana that had been made since the vigorous days of O. P. Morton. Every voter was enrolled, and the first canvass showed that the State was hopelessly Democratic. Of the purely strategic and organiz-

showed that the State was hopeleasly bemocratic. Of the purely strategic and organizing part of the work it is not necessary to speak, except to say that it won for Dorsey the loudest praises from those who knew what he had done, and caused Garileid to speak of him as a "prodigy of political ability."

In the latter part of September, after Dorsey's organization had been perfected, after every voter had been placed, and the influences that could be brought to bear on each voter had been thoroughly learned, a special measenger left New York for Indianapolis. He had with him over four hundred thousand dollars, either in cash or in convertible paper. This money had all been raised in New York, and principally by the efforts of Levi P. Morton. Dorsey never touched a penny of the money, though urged to see to its distribution personally. He was there not only to see to it that his plan of organization was followed to the letter, but also to prevent, so far as possible, any of the money from sticking in the pockets of men who were trusted to distribute it. When the money reached the local committees it was found to be largely in crisp, new \$2 bills. It is believed that Mr. John C. New could tell how bills and drafts of large denomination were thus converted into bills of this denomination. At all events there they were. They were distributed through the State just as ballots were, in great bunches. The destination of each was perfectly well known, and by noon of election day they had fallen like snowflakes silently all over the State, although more in some parts than in others.

Then came the count of polls in the evening. The \$2 bills and the \$432,000, combined with Dorsey's plan of organization, had won. The Democratic party was snowed under by greenbacks, and a great hurrah went up all over the land among Republicans that the principles of the party had triumphed in Indiana. The Fifth Avenue Hotel conference was a success, and Dorsey was admired and congratulated, subsequently (sen. Arthur, then View. President el

But the effect of the October election in Indiana was only moral, and it was feared it would be temporary. Both Dorsey and Brady asserted that the same kind of argument that had been used in October must be used again in November, or the State would be lost. A two-dollar bill was good only for one election. More money must be raised, and the Republi-can managers in casting about for means thought of the Star route contractors. Garfield himself, calling to mind his investigation and his discovery that the contractors were receiv-ing great sums from the Government, felt that lican managers had the same opinion.
One day Jay Hubbell called upon Gen. Brady.

then Second Assistant Postmaster-Ceneral "Brady," said he, "the Star route contractors must subscribe at least forty thousand dollars to the campaign fund, and you must collect the Brady replied that there would be no diffi-

culty about raising that amount. He was willing to undertake to raise it, but he didn't propose to burn his fingers, in view of Hayes's order, and the feeling against Government employees soliciting subscriptions. Hubbell thought that Brady was altogether too sensitive about it, but Brady was firm. "Give me." said Brady. "something that I can fall back on in case of trouble and you shall have the money." Hubbell asked Brady if a memorandum of some sort from R. B. Hayes would be sufficient, and Brady said that it would, of course, provided it was the right kind of memorandum. Hubbell promised to get it, and went to Hayes orandum or letter. He did not forbid the raisorandum or letter. He did not forbid the raising of the money; he only refused to do anything that would throw the responsibility for
it upon him. Hubbell was in despair. He
labored again with Brady, but the Assistant
Postmaster-General was firm as a rock. Hubbell then communicated with Dorsey, and the
result was that Hubbell returned to Brady,
saying. Would you undertake to raise that

money from the Star route contractors if you should get a request or a memorandum from Gen. Garfield r. Brady had little faith in Garfield. He can the Star route appropriate as an activation of corget that Garfield had promised to Garfield r. XI.

Early in the winter of 1681 Gen. Garfield offered to Dorsey a place in his Cabinet. He had not only given them copyright that they were received from Garfield and the Dorsey, who happened to be at fainter appreased himself very frankly about the Star route contractors. He knew that they were received appreased himself type frankly about the Star route contractors. He knew that they were received appreased himself to the something for the success of a party that had not only given them opportunities, but could protect them in the future. Garfield then showed Dorsey a letter that he had written to Brady at Hubbell' augrention, in which he requested Brady to exert himself to collect them money. Dorsey paremptorily told him not to send the letter. At Dorsey's suggestion, that guern the best of reasons for believing that Garfield after the Indiana October canvass made up his mind that he should take Dorsey into his Cabinet if elected. In a recent letter, written by Dorsey since the Star route trails war ended, he spoke of this offer as follows: "When Brady first saw it he treated it with contempt. He though the saw it is a willingness on the part of the candidate to make a cat's paw of him. But he finally consented to collect the money. With the letter as an authority, he did collect a large sum of money, part of which he took to Indiana, where it was spent, with Garfield's knowledge, by himself, and where it would do the soot good.

WHELL

It was about this time that complaints were made both to Brady and Dorsey that Gen Garand that the candidate found himself serious! embarrassed for money. Garfield represented that it was not right to expect or to allow the candidate to be subjected to these burdens. This was just what Hayes had done before him, and Don Cameron sent Hayes a check for a handsome amount to relieve his embarrassment. Both Brady and Dorsey saw to it that Garfield's embarrassment was relieved in the same way, for which favor acknowledgments were duly received from the candidate.

We now come to an event in the remarkable canvass of 1880 that may have the light of a Congressional investigation thrown upon it. Early next winter it is the intention of a member of the House to introduce a resolution reciting that charges have been made affecting the integrity of the appointment of a Justice of the Supreme Court, and asking that a committee of investigation be appointed to ascertain the truth thereof. The following is a state-

ment of the substance of these charges: It is asserted that some of the Republican managers in New York discovered, or thought that they discovered, that Jay Gould had subscribed fifty thousand deliars to the Demo-cratic campaign fund in the fall of 1880. This discovery frightened the leaders. They had expected a large subscription from Mr. Gould, but had falled to get it. He had been distant, and it was thought that he believed that Han-cock would be elected. How to get Mr. Gould interested and how to get at his check book were problems that seemed unsolvable. It was finally determined that some one with whom he would talk, should go to see him, and ask him point blank what the matter was, and what inducements could be given him to sub-scribe. When asked if he would contribute to the Republican fund, Mr. Gould declined peremptorily. When asked why, he is said terest in an Administration at the head of which there would be a man who, as leader

of which there would be a man who, as leader of the Black Friday investigation, denounced me as a corrupt man and compared me to Catlline as a corrupter of the youth of Rome."

That settled the matter at that interview, Gould's personal hostility to Garfield was communicated to the Republican candidate. He expressed great surprise that Mr. Gould should entertain such feelings. He said that he had no personal animosity toward Gould, and that in the report to which Gould referred he had simply discharged a public duty, and one which Mr. Gould ought not to blame him for doing. Back the Republicans trotted to Mr. Gould with Garfield's reply. It seemed, partially at least, to satisfy him. He said, however, that he had no political party interests: all his interests lay in certain great corporations which were threatened by the recent act of Congress known as the Thurman act, an act whose constitutionality was to be passed upon by the Supreme Court.

When this was repeated to Garfield he said that ened by the recent act of Congress known as the Thurman act, an act whose constitutionality was to be passed upon by the Supreme Court.

When this was repeated to Garfield he said that Mr. Gould ought to know that he entertained, the same views that Mr. Gould did respecting the interests of those corporations, and he wanted Mr. Gould to be assured that if elected President, and it should fall to his lot to nominate a member of the Supreme bench, that he would take great care to appoint a man whose views in that regard were the same as his own. This was taken to Mr. Gould. He announced himself as entirely satisfied with it, but he made the gentle suggestion that it be put in the form of a pleage and in writing. This was done, and it is alleged that the pleage can be produced, as it is understood to have been committed to the keeping of a gentleman who holds it subject to the order of both parties.

Then Mr. Gould warmed up to the Republican party. Himself and another subseribed \$150,000, as is expected to be shown before the investigating committee. This money was taken to Cleveland, Ohio, and there divided. Part of it was sent to Indiana, and the rest was used in Ohio.

Garileld subsequently nominated the man to whom this agreement had reference. Stanley Matthews, to the Supreme bench, and Gould telegraphed Senator Plumb urging him to secure Matthews's confirmation. Matthews was confirmed by one majority.

x. Thus through Brady's help large sums had been raised from the Star route contractors. By following the plans of Dorsey immense sums were secured in New York. More than two million dollars were raised in all for the campaign, and a canvass that had been characterized by constant bargain and sale between the factions of the party, and between certain capitalists and the candidate, was advances obtained. The second campaign in Indiana, while not so costly as the first, was conducted in the same way and was very expensive, while in New York and Kings county the same line of argument was most effectively used.

But discount day had passed, and with the success of the candidate the contingency of the bargain made it necessary that there should be payments. During all of the early part of the winter, when Garfield was being greatly embarrassed by the knowledge that it is easier sometimes to bargain than it is to pay. Dorsey was, to all appearances, one of his most trusted counsellors. Dorsey's own volumbnous correspondence shows this, and he had every reason to believe, both from Garfield's manner and from his frequent expressions of gratitude, that Gen. Garfield sincerely desired ils advice. An outside influence stepped in during the winter, one on which neither Garfield nor Dorsey had reckoned, and made it impossible for Garfield to carry out one of the agreements. Congress had passed the Funding law, which was to be the basis of the profit-able refunding operation for the New York syndicate that had been agreed on at the Fifth Avenue conference. There was, however, a man at the head of the Treasury Department who not only believed that the successful candidate for the Presidency had been treacherous to him at Chicago, but who had also learned of the Fifth Avenue agreement. This Secretary, Mr. John Sherman, wielded Hayes as he willed, and Hayes, at Sherman's demand, vetoed the Funding bill. His reasons were regarded by many as so filmsy as to lead to the suspicion that they were not sincere. But Garfield knew and Dorsey knew that Sherman had accomplished two purposes with that veto. He had not only, in a measure, got revenge, but he had prevented the refunding from going into other hands than those that he had been accustomed to favor. Sherman's own course in the Senate the next winter, where, with sublime audacity, he ate his own words respecting refunding as it was contemplated by the vetoed act, proved to many Senators that Garfield and Dorsey were right. However, Windom, under Garfield, reciprocated in kind by quietly refunding in the Treasury itself, and thus preventing Sherman from such action respecting refunding as he contemplated when he should, as a Senator, have something to asy

as to entitle him to that recognition, and he thought the appointment would be acceptable

ex-senator Dorsey Secretary of the Interior. He believed that Dorsey's services were such as to entitle him to that recognition, and he thought the appointment would be acceptable to all Republicans, and especially to those of the West. In this conversation Garfield said that there was no doubt in his mind that the Republican success in Indiana was dus almost wholly to Dorsey's efforts, and he added that there was no doubt that the State was lost until Dorsey went there to take charge of the canvass in person.

But if Dorsey declined to go into the Cabinet himself, he was free to make frequent and very positive recommendations respecting the proposed make up of the Cabinet. He believed that his advice was wanted, and he believed from Garfield's manner that this advice had great influence with him. It was Dorloo and great influence with him. It was Dorloo had be appointed Minister to France, and with this Secretary of the Treasury from the West. He had intimated early to Mr. Morton that he would be appointed Minister to France, and with this Mr. Morton had to be content. With Alilson's appointment as Secretary of the Treasury, Dorsey found no fault, after he was certain that the appointment would not go to New York. Late in February he received his first infination that Garfield expected to carry out his obligations to the New York Stalwarts by appointing Col James Postmaster-General, and that he also had in view the appointment of Wayne MacVeagh as Attorney-General, as Pennsylvania's share in the rewards, and as an acknowledgment to Don Cameron. When Dorsey learned this, he protested in the most vigorous English. He asserted that James could bring the Administration no strength; that his appointment would be at the head of the world had been and that t

tested that he could trust Dorsey through and through. Two days before he was inaugurated. Garfield told Dorsey that he saw no opening for New York except the appointment of Mr. James. He excused himself by saying that other New Yorkers whom he preferred had declined places in the Cabinet, and he could not accept Mr. Conkiling's view that New York ought to have the chief place or none. He also said that he had determined to appoint Mr. MacVeagh Attorney-General, though he deeply regretted that such appointment would be displeasing to Dorsey. As he expressed it, he would make the appointment would be displeasing to Dorsey. As he expressed it, he would make the appointment would be displeasing to Dorsey. As he compared to turn around and see what would have time to turn around and see what would be best.

Mr. James was telegraphed for to come over from New York. He came, and met Gen. Garfield at the Riggs House on the 3d of March. In an adjoining room sat Mr. Dorsey, though it is probable that Mr. James did not know this. Mr. Dorsey subsequently summarized the conversation that Mr. James had with Garfield that he was not an aspirant for a place in the Cabinet; but that if Gen. Garfield saw fit to appoint him, he should enter, not as a Stalwart, not as a Grant man, nor an Arthur man, nor as Conkling man, but should be a Garfield adherent through and through. Gen. Garfield adherent through and through. Gen. Garfield adherent through and through. Gen. Garfield adherent conkling was there. In the interview that followed, Mr. Dorsey wars he heard Mr. James say to Conkling that he had told Garfield that he was not a candidate for any Cabinet place; that he was entirely satisfied with his place in New York; but that, as Gen. Garfield that he was not a candidate for any Cabinet place; this he was entirely satisfied with his place in New York; but that, as Gen. Garfield that he was not a candidate for any Cabinet place; that he was not in continued that he was the representative of Mr. Conkling and the New York Stalwarts.

XII.

It was not long after Garfield's inauguration that the talk of the exposure and prosecution of a gang of conspirators against the Government was heard. Testimony had been presented to Postmaster-General James, and by him referred to Attorney-General MacVeagh, which it was thought developed a scandal as great as the Whiskey Ring. Elaborate prepa-rations were made to collect, sift, and use the testimony. The new Postmaster-General entered into the matter with all his vigor, and the Attorney-General was most anxious to put the accusations in such shape that they could be laid before a competent tribunal. When the investigation had reached such a point as to cause a good deal of public comment, the President was in the midst of his con-President was in the midst of his conflict with the New York Stalwarts over the appointment of Robertson. He had, however, learned that the investigations threatened to involve two men to whom he owed much, Brady and Dorsey. The President was not so greatly occupied with the New York war as not at once to demand of one of the special counsel of the Government that every scrap of important evidence in the case should be submitted to him, and that no steps should be taken of consequence without his knowledge. This special counsel was Col. Wm. A. Cook, and the apparent inconsistency between his assertions and those of other counsel of late more closely identified with the Administration is easily reconciled when it is understood that Carifeld said nothing to these latter about his conferences with Col. Cook. There was one man in the Cabinet, Blaine, who was appearanced.

route investigations. First, because many of his warmest and closest political and business friends were threatened; secondly, because Blaine regarded it as most unseemly ingratitude for an Administration that knew as much about the Star route system as Garfield's did, to be willing to take advantage of the opportunities that system afforded during a canvass, and then, having won partially through its aid, to turn around and allow it to be put to embarrassment. MacVeagh suspected Blaine from the first, and not long before Garfield's death became satisfied that with Blaine in the Cabinet no successful prosecution, and, in fact, no indictments were possible. While the New York fight was at its bottest point, when Arthur and Conkling were in Albany, Blaine suddenly appeared at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, It was said in the press that he had gone to New York to represent the Administration in that contest. This public announcement of his presence in New York was the first knowledge Garfield had that he was away, and he at once summoned Blaine back to Washington. But Blaine was not in New York for the purpose assigned at all. He was there to protect his friends, Eikins, Bosler, and other Star route contractors. He accomplished his mission. They were never prosecuted, and, until very recently, the claim of the Government against them was the subject of arbitration.

When the Garfield Administration began, Mr. Conkling lived on Fourteenth street, be-tween G street and New York avenue. The house is the only dwelling on the block, and is a large, double-stuccoed building, the upper rooms of which are let to lodgers. In the winter of 1881 Senator Conkling occupied the whole of the first floor, and after the 4th of March, Vice-President Arthur occupied the second floor. They took their meals at Chamberlin's, who then had a restaurant around the corner on New York avenue.

The New York people were known to be out of sympathy with Garfield and his Administration, and it was the President's desire that there should be a reconciliation. In his dread of a difference of opinion with his Vice-President, his Postmaster-General, and so strong a man as Senator Conkling. Garfield was willing to promise almost anything. Above all things, he wanted to promote harmony, or at least he wanted to win back the support of those whom he had already grievously deceived.

It was in the house in which Conkling and Arthur lodged, and in Conkling's parlor, that a noteworthy conference took place. Attor-ney-General MacVeagh represented the President, and it was at his request that the conference was held. Mr. MacVengh had a soft side for the New York Senator, and desired his friendship and support for the Administration of which he was a member. A few days before Robertson's appointment as Collector of New York, the President expressed to MacVengh his desire that Conkling should be on good terms with the Administration. To this Mac-

you have constantly ignored the executive branch."

Mr. Conkling was walking up and down his room as Mr. Madveagh spok but he stopped as though he were rather; pleased by the Attorion as Mr. Madveagh spok but he stopped as though he were rather; pleased by the Attorion of thing he liked. Why, you don't was the kind of thing he liked. Why, you don't consider that any part of Hayes's Administration constituted an executive branch of the Government, do you?"

Mr. Conkling then submitted to be negotiated with about the future. At first MacVeagh spoke in general terms, promising is the name of the property of the submitted of the property of the consultation of the property of the p

James, called at the White House. Mr. Garneld was profuse in his protestations of friendship.

Mr. Garfield assured Mr. Conkiling and the others that there was nothing he would not do to please the Stalwarts of New York. He insisted only that Robertson and his friends, whose break from the instructions of the State Convention had made his nomination possible, should not be punished. Mr. Conkiling was not deterred by the President's evident tiking for Robertson from expressing his opinion of his, and of what he denounced as his treachery and infamy in refusing to vote for Gen. Grant, and in persisting in voting for that man Hains. Given the collectors of the conkiling a suspicious by childing excited Mr. Conkiling suspicious by childing excited Mr. Conkiling suspicious by the collectors of the suspicious his apparent purpose to make bean dended his apparent purpose to make bean dended his apparent purpose to the abane change in the programme laid down on the previous Friday svening. Perhaps he had been approached by adverse influences. If he had, he had evidently consented to yield to them. At least, that seemed to be Mr. Conkiling's conviction, for he haunched into a fresh tirade against Robertson, and showed plainly that there could be no friendship between himself and the Administration if the Collectorship should be given to the man selected by Mr. Blaine. Garfield therefore hastily and even apploactically retreated, and began looking about for another place to ret he present Collector—a place that would satisfy the demands made by Whitelaw Reid and other of Blaine's friends and supporters in New York. Finally he suggested that he might give Robertson the District Attorneyship. Conkiling however, was opposed to giving his cenemy anything at all. He saw that the President was determined that Robertson should have an appointment of some importance, and he placed too high a value on poacetil relations with the new Administration to troat with its own appointment. Anything his accommendation of the many which he

XV.

The news reached Dorsey away out at his Chico Springs ranch. Surprised and angry, he hurried to Washington to see what it meant, With his counsel, Col. Ingersoll, he called on MacVeagh for a conference and an explanation, and was staggered to hear the Attorney-General say that he expected to send him to the penitentiary. Then he went to the White House. He asked Garfield if he proposed to allow his Administration to be used to gratify the malice of one of its members, and against

House. He asked Garfield if he proposed to allow his Administration to be used to gratify the malice of one of its members, and against him, who, as the President had over and over again assured him, had done more than all others to bring about a victory for the party the previous fail. Dorsey further said that he was entirely willing to have his connection with the Star route contracts thoroughly sifted, and if anything wrong was found therein he would stand the consequences. but, said he, "I do not want to have it done by any man with a personal malice to satisfy.

Garfield heard him through, and then went up to him, put his arm around him, and said; "Steve, old boy, don't worry; go back to your ranch." He also said to him that he had the whole business thoroughly in his own hands, where he proposed to keep it. Dorsey went away greatly relieved. He had, however, lardly got home, before news came that distressed him. He learned that MacVeagh expected soon to get an indictment against him. Back he came to Washington. Garfield seemed annoyed at his lack of confidence in him; he told Dorsey that not a step was taken without his knowledge, and he told him that if he would be at his room at a certain hour that evening, he would sond him a transcript of all the evidence. That was done. The papers wore taken to Dorsey by a member of the celebrated chum Cabinet. In the first report of the progress of the investigation, which was submitted by the investigators, the name of Dorsey appeared many times, but before that report was given to the press, the name and all allusions to his connection with the Star route system had been stricken out by lead pencil crasures. Dorsey and Brady both had a strong friend in the Administration. Mr. Biaine, while moving very circumspectly, felt very bitterly about the treatment they were receiving. He had, besides, his own grievances arising from MacVeagh's almost outspoken hostillity, and he early began to prepare the way for the speedy retirement of MacVeagh and James from the Cabinet.

General.

General.

Guiteau's shot caused the Star route prosecutions to be handed over as a legacy from the old to the new Administration. The history of the prosecution by Gen. Arthur's administration is long, and in some respects as remarkable as that which has just been told.

A patent has intely been issued for a contrivance called the "tongue and groove." By its use the door joints of a freproof aste cannot open or expand when beated. The device is the invention of and is used by the Marvin Safe Company of New York, exclusively.—460.

Smoke " Welcome" Cigarettes